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SOME REASONS

FOR THE

IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT

OF A

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NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

FOR THE

UNITED STATES.

By CHARLES BROOKS,

MEDFORD, MASS.

Second Edition.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.

1869.

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To Col. Le Grand B. Cannon, *of New York:*

Knowing your high and life-long fidelity to the great cause of our country, and your deep interest in every effort to extend *Education*, I heartily dedicate this second edition of my work to you, who was the cause of its first publication.

With respect and esteem, I am truly yours.

Charles Brooks.

From 4392.62

PREFACE.

A BRIEF outline of the prospective national system of Free Public Schools, Free Public Colleges, and Free Public Universities, which is contemplated in the following pages, may be illustrated thus: —

The *town* says to every child born within its limits, "Go to the Primary School as soon as you are four and a half years old; there you will find rooms, books, and teachers: use them all gratis; your parents need only clothe and feed you." When these children have been four years in the Primary School, the *town* says to them, "Go up into the Grammar School: there you will find rooms, books, and teachers: use them all at our expense; your parents need only clothe and feed you." When these pupils have spent four years in the Grammar Schools, the *town* again says to them, "Go up into the High School; there you will find rooms, books, apparatus, and teachers: use them all gratis; your parents need only clothe and feed you." When these pupils have spent four years in the High School, and the *town* has done all it can do for them, then the *State* says to them, "Go up into the College, and enter the department for which you are prepared; there you will find rooms, books, apparatus, and teachers: use them all gratis; your parents need only clothe and feed you." When these students have passed through four years of College instruction and discipline, the *United States* says to them, "Go up into the National University, and enter any department for which you can prove yourself prepared;

there you will find rooms, books, apparatus, and teachers: use them all gratis; your parents need only clothe and feed you."

Thus following up the idea of pure, democratic republican education, we arrive at the necessity of free *National Universities*.

The number of these Universities may be two or ten according to the needs of an increased population.

The establishment of a national system of education would not change the system of free public schools existing in New England. Colleges, uniting in the system, would not lose any of their rights or powers; but would be strengthened and expanded as state banks are by becoming national ones.

We invite the reader to look at this great subject, not from the angle of New York or Massachusetts only, but from that of Texas, Oregon, Missouri, Virginia, California, and the Southern Republics.

SOME REASONS

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IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT

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NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

FOR THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL systems of education have been established by the most enlightened nations of Europe with entire success; and the more we study those of Prussia, Holland, France, Baden, Switzerland, Bavaria, and others, the more we find them to be the results of experience, wisdom, patriotism, humanity, and religion. We do not, therefore, propose any experiment in the United States. We have no taste for dreams in education or legislation. We wish to go by facts: solid, well-attested facts; facts which have long existed, and which have produced positive, tangible, and all-important results. The march of events called the European systems into existence; the unparalleled march of events and concurrence of circumstances, in the United States, call with double emphasis for a similar movement among us. There can be no risk in our adopting the European philosophies of national education; and when those philosophies have been fully Americanized by us, they will reveal a system of universal and free culture, whose vastness, power, and importance have never been witnessed.

Some of the profoundest minds and the best patriots in the United States think the time has come for the introduction of a national system among us, founded upon the eternal principles

of democratic republicanism and true religion. With our experience of free schools, we can organize a national system as much superior to those in Europe as our iron-clads are superior to their wooden ships.

Let us now look at some of the European systems. Take that of Prussia.

Prussia has an area of one hundred and eight thousand square miles, divided into eight provinces, containing seventeen millions of inhabitants.

The *different grades of schools* are as follows: —

1. The *Elementary Schools*, which answer to our common public schools.

2. *High Schools* for business education after the elementary instruction is finished.

3. *Gymnasia*, for those who are to enter college.

4. *Normal Schools*, to teach teachers how to teach.

5. *Universities*, for the highest branches of science and literature, and for the learned professions.

These educational institutions are designed for *all* the people, and are equally scattered over the whole country.

There are other schools which have particular objects in view; these are

1. *Infant Schools* for indigent and orphan children.

2. *Female Working Schools*, where needlework is taught.

3. *Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Schools*, where the sciences most used in their trades are taught.

4. *Military Schools*, for the preparation of officers.

The governmental supervision of the whole and its parts, is as follows: —

1. The *King*, who takes a constant interest, and to whom all subordinates are strictly responsible.

2. *Secretary of Public Instruction*, who, with his *Council*, regulates the whole school establishment.

3. *School Board and School Examiners* in each province. These superintend the schools in each of the provinces, and each province has a university.

4. *President of Regencies.* — There are twenty-eight regencies; that is, each province is so subdivided. A president and his council superintend each one regency, and are responsible to the provincial Board, to which they must report.

5. These regencies are again subdivided into *circles;* and each circle is superintended by a governmental *inspector.* These circles have normal schools for the supply of teachers.

6. The last division is into *parishes.* In each of these parishes there is a *school committee,* who have the immediate cognizance and superintendence of all school matters, and who are responsible to the circle of inspectors.

Thus, from the king downward to the parish committee, there is a regular gradation of officers; every class and profession having its place in the general organization, and each responsible to the next above him, and all paid by government.

The end of the entire organization seems to be, to leave details to the local powers, and to reserve to the minister and his council the direction and general impulse given to the whole.

The *pecuniary support* of the schools and universities is well provided for. The government supports the universities and all the large model schools; but the parish schools are supported, as in New England, by a tax on the whole population.

"Our principal aim," says one of their annual reports, "in each kind of instruction is, to induce the pupils to think and judge for themselves. Teaching what is practical we consider of the first and highest importance."

The *results* of this beautiful and Christian system of education in Prussia, are apparent to every critical eye. M. Victor Cousin, the first scholar in France, was sent by his king, Louis Philippe, to Prussia, to examine their educational establishments and report in print. He performed his duty with singular ability and success. He says, —

"I left Prussia with a mind full of respect for a government

and a people, who had carried the means of universal education to such elevation. There does not exist a single human being throughout Prussia who does not receive an education sufficient for the moral and intellectual wants of the laboring classes."

Here, then, is a system of national education in which every child from five to fifteen years of age, is *obliged* to be in school, where each child is taught by purposely prepared teachers; then severally examined by a Board of Examiners, appointed by government, and then each one reported to the Minister of Public Instruction at Berlin, just as every letter in the United States mail is reported to the Postmaster General at Washington.

The *success* and popularity of the Prussian national system of education is owing mainly to the endowments and fidelity of the teachers. Mr. Kay, an intelligent English gentleman, has lately taken great pains by personal examinations, to understand the Prussian system, and he says, —

"During my travels in different provinces in Prussia, I was in daily communication with the teachers. I could not but feel how grand an institution this great body of more than twenty-eight thousand teachers was, and how much it was capable of effecting; and when I regarded the happy condition of the Prussian peasantry, I could not but believe I saw some of the fruits of the daily labors of this enlightened, respected, and united brotherhood.

"The national system has the respect, confidence, and love of the people; and there is no tax paid so cheerfully as the school tax."

Now look deeply into these facts. Is there not a moral sublimity in this picture — a powerful kingdom in the centre of Europe, so interesting itself in a system of national culture as to secure extensive instruction to every child, thus securing personal and domestic improvement, political and religious rights, national and educational renown?

If twenty millions of Prussians can establish a regal system of national education, cannot thirty millions of Americans establish a democratic republican system?

There is an old Latin maxim, that "It is lawful to learn of an enemy." Let us adopt this new maxim: *It is lawful for a republic to learn of a king.*

HOLLAND.

Let us look at a brief outline of the national system of education in Holland.

The kingdom has an area of thirteen thousand square miles, divided into twelve provinces, containing three millions of inhabitants. Its system of education was established when it was a republic. It commenced operations April 3, 1806, under the then Batavian republic, thirteen years before the Prussian code was matured. So deep laid in truth and prudence is the system, that the conversion of the Batavian republic into a kingdom, then its incorporation with the French empire, then the dethroning of Louis, and the restoration of the house of Orange, then the union of Holland and Belgium, and lastly the separation of these and the restricting the kingdom of the Netherlands to its former limits — all these changes have made no alteration in the school law.

The striking peculiarity of the Holland system is its well-adjusted machinery of *inspection*, which is truly telescopic and microscopic.

The present governmental organization is this: —

1. The *King*, who holds the power of revising and remodelling any of the "regulations."

2. The *Minister of the Interior*. All communications are through him, and in his office; therefore, he has a

3. *Secretary* called *Referendary*, who has charge of all this class of communications, and who may be considered the third in the governmental series.

4. *Inspector of Primary and Latin Schools*. This officer, answering to the Minister of Public Instruction in Prussia, is the main-spring of the whole educational establishment.

These several officers, above mentioned, constitute the *Central*

Board of Education for Holland, and are therefore clothed with the highest powers.

But it was found necessary to have a council specially charged with the strictest execution of the laws.

5. This *Council* gives uniform and powerful impulse to every part of the vast whole.

The kingdom is divided into ten *provinces*. Each province has its provincial Board of Inspectors. Each provincial board sends a deputy once a year to the Hague; and these deputies, united with the central board, form the general committee. In this there is great responsibility. They must watch over the whole school system, sanction special regulations, prescribe the books, require the introduction of new modes of teaching, and see that the laws are rigidly enforced.

6. The next Board is called the *Board of Primary Instruction*. There is one of these in every province, made up of school inspectors, of whom there are fifty-six in the realm. They are elected as inspectors, amid great rivalship, and are very superior men.

7. Each province is subdivided into *districts*, and to each district an inspector is appointed. This is the office of labor and responsibility, on which they place most of their hopes. He is a school missionary, an itinerant government, and is almost a member of every family in his district. He is paid by government, and has jurisdiction over every school, public and private.

Thus we see how each inspector has charge of his own district, each provincial board the charge of its province, while the general meeting, which may be called the Assembly of the States General of Primary Instruction, has charge of the whole kingdom. All the public functionaries are paid by government.

To make this system of governmental inspection more simple, let us apply it to Massachusetts, thus: —

In every school district of a town there would be a prudential committee; then a town-school committee, having the county inspector as a member; then in each county, a county-board of education made up of the several inspectors within the county;

then the deputies, chosen from the several county boards of inspectors, would join the general inspector, the secretary of state and the governor constituting a central board of education, and each board responsible to the next above it, and the last responsible to the legislature.

Here would be a system Argus-eyed and Briarian-handed!

The Dutch asked this question: What is the foundation and life of a popular school system? They decided that a due superintending power was the main-spring, the soul of primary schools, because any society must depend on the government controlling it; therefore, they passed a law under which principles were afterwards to be carried out. This law strikingly exhibits a sort of hierarchy of authorities, and organizes a system of public instruction only so far as its organizes a government for it. Mr. Van den Ende, who was the Holland system personified, said, with great emphasis. to M. Victor Cousin, "Take care who you choose for inspectors. They are a class of men who ought to be searched for with a lantern in one's hand."

Article 194th of the new Constitution says, "Instruction shall be *free*, under the absolute control of government."

There is an annual distribution of silver medals to those teachers who have been most zealous and successful.

The national system of Holland is sustained by all the forces that government can give it, and the results are cheering, and helping every family in the kingdom.

FRANCE.

Let us look now at the system of France: France, with its area of two hundred and four thousand eight hundred square miles, its eighty-six departments, and its thirty-six millions of inhabitants, has a national system of education of grand and imposing dimensions. It is called the "Royal University of France," and embraces the whole system of national education, and includes all the institutions for imparting instruction, which are spread over the whole kingdom, from the lowest schools up to the highest colleges. The university is placed under a council of six members, called the "Royal Council of Public Instruc-

tion," of which the minister of public instruction is the official president; and he is a member of the cabinet.

In 1838, the national system cost the government three millions eight hundred thousand three hundred and fifty-four dollars; now probably twice that sum. The salaries of all teachers are regulated and paid by government.

A striking peculiarity of the national system is, that all the professors in all the colleges and lyceums, and the faculties of law, medicine, theology, and letters, and all institutions of education, above the primary school, are appointed by *competition* (les concours). The judges are selected from the ablest scholars in France, and the trial or competition may continue a week; but the result is that the most learned and accomplished scholar secures the selection. This law of *concours* has filled all the scientific and literary offices with the richest talent of the realm. I have witnessed these diamond-cut-diamond conflicts, and they are thorough and decisive beyond description.

As is the Teacher so is the School. — The eminent professors and teachers in the various institutions of France, have drawn students to Paris from all quarters of the globe; and the government is liberal to them all.

So much for a national system, shaped by the maturest minds in the realm, and then carrying its humane and Christian plans into effect by the resistless power of the imperial government.

June 28, 1833, France established a national system of primary education. In fifteen years it increased the number of primary schools from thirty-three thousand six hundred and ninety-five to forty-three thousand five hundred and fourteen; and the school-houses from ten thousand three hundred and sixteen to twenty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

The effects have been so healthy and auspicious, that M. Guizot, minister of public instruction, said, "The ministry of public instruction is the most popular of all governmental departments; and that which the people look upon with the highest favor and expectation."

May not the time come when the United States shall have a national system of education, in all its parts so complete and

powerful, that thousands of ambitious young students shall come from our sister republics in South America, instead of going, as they now do, to Europe, to receive the best instruction in the world?

BADEN.

The national system of education in the Grand Duchy of Baden, in Germany, merits notice for some peculiar excellencies. Its one million five hundred thousand inhabitants are united, prosperous, and happy, owing to the paternal care of the government in educating all the children. In 1806, when the present Duchy began to exist, there was no national system of education; but, seeing the absolute necessity of such a system, in order to put themselves on the same vantage-ground as other countries, they established, in 1830, a system which organized upon a uniform plan the common and classical schools of the whole Duchy. Dismembered parts and opposing interests were all brought into unity by the magic power of the national system. It was hopeless for objectors and enemies to hold out against a national movement for a good object. The national system consists of two universities, seven lycea, five gymnasia, three pædagogia, four normal schools, nineteen higher schools, seven Latin schools, and about two thousand common schools.

These institutions are all under the general supervision of the state, from which they annually receive aid. Their supervision is committed to the Department of the Interior, subordinate to which there exists an Education Department or Council, consisting of one member for each of the four districts or circles into which the state is divided.

The government, being the heart, sends the lifeblood of learning and religion to every extremity of the body-politic. It would take many pages to describe the paternal care and all-pervading power of this national system; but I will give only one item, — it relates to factory schools. The law is this: "No child may be employed in any manual labor until it is eleven years old; and no child shall be employed in a factory unless it *then* attends the factory schools." How wise, how paternal is this law, reaching every child in the country! A

national system can do a thousand such wise things; and, as it makes them all national, makes a nation of well-taught and happy citizens.

Thus we see how powerfully and benignantly the government of Baden carries forward its national system, beginning with the district primary school, and ending with the national university.

The great superiority of these European systems to our modes is this: that they bring the whole force of the government to bear on *every* child in the nation; securing the attendance of every one, and also securing the paternal or maternal care and instruction of the best teachers. Look at the facts closely; do not such systems seem to realize God's idea of universal culture, while they beautifully illustrate his second great commandment, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself?*

SWITZERLAND.

We must not neglect the Republic of Switzerland; because it furnishes to our republic the most impressive and useful lessons, together with the safest examples on the subject of a national system of education.

With an area of fifteen thousand square miles, divided into twenty-two independent cantons, it has about two and a half millions of inhabitants. Each canton, like each state in our Union, manages its own internal affairs according to its own interests and taste. They value their schools as the very apple of their eye; and though differently organized and managed in different cantons, are all brought into intimate and harmonious connection under the acknowledged supremacy of the general government.

The institutions and modes, which are found to work with superior efficacy in one canton, are introduced by the general government into all the rest. Thus improvements are circulated as soon as they are discovered.

In the Swiss republic, they settle satisfactorily the vexed questions of different religious sects. For example, the population of Vaud is Presbyterian; that of Lucerne, Roman

Catholic; that of Argovia and Berne, partly Protestant and partly Catholic; yet these differing religious creeds make no objection to a national system of education which harmonizes them all under a general toleration. Three of the superintendents under the general government have lately testified in these words: "We do not find the least inconvenience resulting from the instruction of different religious sects in the same school."

Each canton is divided into communes, or parishes; and each commune is required by law to furnish school-room for the education of all the children who are between the ages of six and sixteen, within its limits. Compulsion is rigorously enforced. They say, *every* child shall be educated, because every human being needs education. "The schoolmasters in the several communes are furnished with lists of all the children in their districts, which are called over every morning on the assembling of the school; the absentees are noted, and these lists are regularly examined by the inspectors, who fine the parents of the absentees for each case of absence." These laws are enforced under the most democratic forms of government.

The people are in favor of the law; so conscious are they of the necessity of education to individual happiness and public prosperity.

The Swiss system of governmental supervision and examination is more simple than that of Holland, but is wise and efficient. Their local inspection by local authorities is particularly good.

Switzerland says, "It is the duty of every government to provide against crime, pauperism, and wretchedness, by providing against ignorance, which is the cause of these evils." Mr. Kay says, "It may be truly said, that in nearly the whole of Switzerland, every boy and girl between the ages of six and sixteen can read and write."

Here, then, is an intelligent and Christian republic, made up of twenty-two separate and independent states, which has established a national system of education that reaches every child born within its union, and finds it producing the happiest results.

Can Swiss republicans do these great and good things for their country, and cannot American republicans do the same?

There are other European governments that have established national systems of education. That of Bavaria is particularly excellent. That, and those which I have just described, help to illustrate the following truths, to which I invite the attention of every American scholar, patriot, and Christian: —

1. The facts, above stated, prove that nations enlightened by science, literature, arts, and religion, have found it for their highest interest, for their internal peace, and for their outward renown, to organize systems of national education, which could reach every child within their territories. These nations now stand out before the world, in this respect, as the brightest examples of human wisdom and Christian benevolence.

2. The facts stated prove, that all the different sects of Christian believers may be brought to unite and co-operate in a national system, which gives equal aid and protection to each Christian denomination, thus allowing no one to boast, and no one to complain.

3. The facts stated prove that the United States can, if they will, organize and establish and vivify a national system of education very superior to any European one, because we have a system of free schools already established, and have not a national church, and therefore have none of those vexatious questions to settle, which occur in Europe among established hierarchies.

4. These facts prove that it is wise and patriotic to secure the education of every child born in the republic; and therefore every parent should be induced to perform this duty. But how can a result, so blessed and so durable, be secured? I think it can be secured by a wise use of those strongest ties which exist in human life: the ties that bind parents to their children. How can these affections be brought into natural activity for such an object? The way by which they can be brought into free, steady, and effective action is by a law of Congress thus

worded: "No person born in the United States after the 1st day of January, 1880, shall be married in the United States who cannot write, read, and cipher." Let us closely examine this law. There are eleven years before we reach 1880. The child, who shall be born on the second day of January, 1880, must live twenty years before he or she will be of the safest marriageable age. Put together these twenty years, and the eleven, and we have thirty-one years before the law can come into practical operation. These thirty-one years, in which the law has seemed to be idle, have not been too long to educate *every family in the Union* into the meaning, power, wisdom, and benevolence of its provisions. The law will slide into operation without causing anger or revulsion; and thus, through all-coming time the strongest bonds of affections and interests of human life, will be *silently* brought to bear on every son and daughter born in the United States; securing to each one, *without failure*, an education sufficient for all the common duties and trials of life.

Let me close with enumerating briefly some of the reasons for establishing a national system of education in the United States.

1. The first reason is, that we shall be following up and following out the legislation of our ancestors on this subject of free schools. The Congress of the United States voted on the 20th day of May, 1785, to devote to the uses of the *public* schools the sixteenth section of every township owned by them. In their ordinance of 1787 they declared thus: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be *for ever* encouraged." From that day to the present hour that far-sighted policy has been confirmed and extended, till its blessings now reach even the distant shores of the Pacific; and fifty millions of acres of the public domain have been set apart and consecrated to the high and ennobling purposes of free public education, together with five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of all public lands in each of the states and territories in which they are situated.

Do not these ideas and acts of our fathers call upon us to follow up and follow out their exalted principles and practical examples; and thus take up the great work just where they left off? Their wish undoubtedly was, that every child in every town should have an education which would enable him to make the most of himself, and thereby do the most good to his family and his country. They evidently looked to a common lot and to a universal culture: in other words, to a national system of democratic republican education. When we shall have organized such a national system we shall have trod in their steps, used their means and finished their work; and shall not have done a greater or a stranger thing than they did.

2. The second reason is this: We shall be following the advice of some of the soundest minds in our own country and Europe, who have examined the principles and seen them in operation.

Let me mention the Hon. John Quincy Adams. He took an interest in the National Educational Convention, which I assembled at Philadelphia the 20th of November, 1839. It was a large convention of most distinguished men. At that convention I was to bring forward the plan for a national system of free schools, free colleges, and free universities; but, being called to Europe before the time of meeting, the plan has slept till now. I invited Mr. Adams to be the president of the convention. In his reply, he pleaded old age as his apology for refusing. He approved of my labors, and in his letter called my plan, "your laudable, great national movement for the advancement of education;" and ends his letter thus:

"If I can make my arrangements so as to be at Philadelphia on the 20th of November, I will cheerfully attend the meeting, and give its objects all my good wishes, and any assistance that may be in my power.

"I am, dear sir, faithfully your friend,

"J. Q. Adams."

The next far-sighted man who has sounded the depths and shoals of this subject of public education, is the late Hon.

Daniel Webster. Speaking on this subject, he says, "It is the undoubted right and the bounden duty of government to provide for the instruction of *all* youth." "For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property." Of this *governmental* provision he says, "We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society, are secured. By *general* instruction we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere, to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security above the law and beyond the law, in the prevalence of enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time when, in the villages and farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors; and knowing that our government rests directly on the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavor to give proper direction to that public will."

I will quote the opinion of only one more sound scholar and great statesman. It is M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction in France, and the best judge, in this question, of any man in Europe. Speaking of national systems of education, in his annual report, he uses these emphatic words: "The only countries and times in which public education has really prospered have been those where the Church or State, or both in conjunction, have considered its advancement their *business* and *duty*. The accomplishment of such a work requires the ascendency of general and permanent power, such as that of the nation and its enactments." M. Guizot says Napoleon had the same idea, and acted upon it: "Napoleon felt that the educational department should be laical and social, connected with family interests and property, and intimately united with civil order and the mass of fellow-citizens. He saw, also, that the educational department should hold closely to the state government, receive its powers from that source, and exercise them under its general control. Napoleon created the University, adapting it to the new state of society."

I consider these opinions of M. Guizot as the soundest and safest guides which we can find on this planet; for they are conclusions at which he arrived while superintending and directing the national system of education in France.

3. The third reason for establishing a national system of education in the United States is this: We have four millions of liberated slaves, who should be educated. They ask it at our hands, and the world expects us to do it; because, in the very act of emancipation there is the sacred promise to *educate*. Slavery has kept the word *education* out of our national Constitution; now four millions of starved minds implore its introduction. These colored people are children in knowledge, and we must begin with A B C. They must be educated in the South, where they prefer to live, in warm climates. Their former owners will not take the trouble to educate them, and would generally refuse to pay a local tax for that purpose. Individual generosity, educational societies, and partial taxation, will fail. No system but a national one can meet the great case, or wield the requisite power. The wise benevolence, the omnipresent inspection, and the impartial force of the general government, *can* do the noble Christian work, and do it well. I have no conviction stronger than this, that a national system alone can shower the manna of knowledge equally over the whole land, so that every one can go and gather what he needs.

The importance of beginning wisely with four millions of new citizens cannot be overstated. Two millions of them are men with strong passions and weak self-control. They must all be treated alike; and this can be done only by a national system, executed paternally but inflexibly by the national government.

4. The fourth reason is this: it will be a promoter of fraternal and political union. The improvements which spring up in one state may be soon scattered, by the Bureau of Public Instruction at Washington, over the rest of the country. A common interest in a good cause, thus created, will naturally bind the most distant parts together in mutual efforts and generous rivalries.

The national universities, filled with undergraduates from different parts of the Union, having a common aim, a common interest, and a common hope, will in four such years, as naturally fraternize as contiguous drops of water melt into one. The national systems of education in Europe are found to be the greatest promoters of unity. M. Guizot says, "The ministry of public instruction is considered the truly paternal part of the government."

5. The fifth reason is this: *Emigration.* Our country has become the home of some millions of foreigners, whose ideas, tastes, and habits are different from ours. Some of these have come with opinions and principles adverse to our established institutions; especially on the subject of ecclesiastical rights and sway. A foreign power may silently strengthen itself among us till it attempts to seize the helm of government. It is of measureless importance that the children of these emigrants should be educated in our public Christian schools. If their children enter our primary schools at five years of age, and graduate at sixteen, we shall have not much to fear. A national system can secure this result in the United States as it can nowhere else.

6. The sixth reason is this: We are to be the leading republic of the world; and we are bound by that fact to be an example to the rest. We shall be traitors to our trust if we do not publish to all nations a type of national character higher than any yet known; a character which avows *love of God* as its first motive to action, and *usefulness to mankind* as the required proof of sincerity.

7. The seventh reason is this: our country can do now what it never could do before. Since the Christian era there has not been such an opportunity for such a country to do such a work: the noblest work man can do. Slavery is dead, and we can now introduce into our Constitution the angelic agency of national education. We can now, for the first time, meet the demands of humanity, civilization, and freedom. Not only can we teach the negroes, but we can emancipate the "poor

whites," whom ignorance has kept so long in a suspended humanity. The old slave states are to be new missionary ground for the national schoolmaster, where, without regard to rank, age, or color, he will teach all his pupils that learning and development are the first natural rights of man, and that education is to the human soul what the main-spring is to the watch, what the water-wheel is to the factory, what breath is to the lungs, what light is to the world. The Anglo-Saxon blood, on this side of the globe, must faithfully educate and peacefully lead the other races. It is our destiny, and *we must fulfil it.* We must, therefore, establish a national system of free and universal culture upon the broadest basis of pure democratic republicanism; and then carry it into effect by the united wisdom and the *resistless energy* of a rich, powerful, intelligent, and Christian people.

Such a system, suited to our thousand years of future growth, and nameless millions of inhabitants, will place us *at the head of the nations,* while it becomes the progressive agency, the conservative power, and the eternal blessing of our national life.

Let us neither delay nor falter. God has been with us; and if we are loyal to his cause of human improvement he will be with us still. We have taught the nations how to fly across the ocean by our steamboats, we have magnetized the world by our telegraph, we have iron-clad the world by our monitors; let us now *educate* the world by our free public schools, free public colleges, and free public universities.

Shakespeare says, —

> "Doubt not but success
> Will fashion the event in better shape
> Than I can lay it down in likelihood."

MEDFORD, MASS., *April* 19, 1869.